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QUESTION OF PALESTINE
THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST
IRAQI AGGRESSION AND THE CONTINUED
OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT IN FLAGRANT
VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE
UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-sixth year

Letter dated 5 March 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the statement made by President Muhammad Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, at the joint meeting of the People's Assembly and the Advisory Council on 3 March 1991.

I would be grateful if you would kindly have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 33, 35 and 46 of the preliminary list for its forty-sixth session, and as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Amre MOUSSA
Permanent Representative

* A/46/50.



READEX FICHE

Annex

Ladies and gentlemen,

Members of the People's Assembly and the Advisory Council,

In these historic days, in which a distinction is being drawn between light and darkness, between hopes and sufferings, and between the announcement of liberation and victory, on the one hand, and the horrors of war and the signs of devastation, on the other, ...

I have come to you mainly in order to present my second testimony, for the historical record, concerning all the circumstances surrounding the sanguinary disaster that has afflicted our Arab nation.

I have also come in order to launch a pan-Arab appeal, from the Egyptian people's Parliament, to all fraternal Arab peoples, calling upon them to strive towards a path of action and a new future; a future of peace and security, work and development.

I tell you frankly; in these last few weeks, I have faced my roughest and most difficult days in office and the most severe and overwhelming distress, in which my heart has been weighed down with anxiety and grief and I have asked myself in bewildered astonishment: Did we not caution the ruler of Iraq against all that has happened? Did we not give him sincere advice and tell him the truth from the very first day of his occupation of the State of Kuwait? Did we not diligently endeavour, by various means, to make him aware of the true situation, the real state of affairs and the proper course of action, since there was every indication that the international consensus would not condone that crime and would not permit it to continue? Did we not overlook all his insults, abuse and insolence? Did we not constantly warn him of his miscalculations and his erroneous assumptions, which inevitably led, as we had expected and warned, to ruin, destruction, death and collapse?

May God curse arrogance and self-delusion! May God curse the decision of an individual when that individual is deified!

Self-delusion, hypocrites, conspirators, self-interested persons and buffoons gave him the false impression that the world would be divided in the face of his arguments, his wisdom and his courage, that Kuwait would become an easy prey, and that its annexation to Iraq would be a fictitious crowning achievement of his misguided leadership.

However, it became clearly evident, from the outset, that his judgement was naive and capricious and that he had deluded himself, once again, into believing that, by maintaining his stubborn attitude and remaining entrenched in his fortified bunker, he would be able to bring down governments, overthrow systems and redraw the map of the world.

It then became unquestionably evident that his judgement was based on advice received from ignorant and dim-witted persons and adepts in the art of creating slogans and catchwords.

He subsequently deluded himself into thinking that the international community would not adopt a resolution calling for the use of armed force to ensure withdrawal. I warned him about this in a long letter - I repeat, I warned him about this in a long letter - in which I assured him that the resolution would be adopted in the very near future. He responded, as usual, with further abuse, vituperation and frivolity.

It then became increasingly evident that he had acted on blind impulse and that he was unaware of, or unable to understand, the most fundamental facts concerning the international community.

Yet again, he deluded himself into thinking that the Arab and friendly allied forces feared confrontation in a land battle and were terrified of his mythical overwhelming power capable of transforming vast territories into a huge cemetery and a sea of blood that would not be deep enough to cover the corpses of the tens of thousands of victims. He mistakenly believed that, if this happened, peoples would revolt against their leaders and governments, thrones would be toppled and presidents would be overthrown, leaving his misguided leadership to reign supreme and strut imperiously on the world stage.

Accordingly, he warned of ruin, death and calamity and announced, in an extremely confident, arrogant and boastful manner, that the odds against his overwhelming victory were less than one in a million!

He then announced that the damage suffered by military installations inside Iraq as a result of the air raids was much less than he had estimated on the basis of a careful calculation and that he would be able to wage a victorious war for a period of six years. He ridiculed those who had referred only to a period of three years!

There was also a constantly mounting deluge of statements, declarations and communiqués from four radio stations, concerning fabulous secret weapons that would cause the world to tremble, ingenious military strategies that would astound military leaders for all time, and frightful prospects of slaughter in which the combatants would be sent home in hundreds of thousands of shrouds.

The truth must be told! Whenever a head of State expressed a view contrary to his own, this man accused him of being ignorant, degenerate, contemptible, cowardly, irreligious, etc. All these shameful, vulgar and abusive epithets were heaped on a large number of world leaders, whom he expected to grovel at his feet pleading for mercy and forgiveness after the annihilation of their armies and the collapse of their regimes and governments!

He therefore believed that, when the leaders of the major Powers had been overthrown, his glorious historic victory would place the leadership of the world in his hands.

Believe me, ladies and gentlemen,

I am still bewildered and confused.

Even now, I am still bewildered and confused.

How could any intelligent, logical or perceptive student of military history imagine that he would be able to wage a battle, even on a very limited scale, when he did not possess a single aircraft, not even a single defensive missile, after the air war and before the air battle!

Even the aircraft that escaped destruction were surreptitiously flown to Iran.

Is this the heroic steadfastness of which he boasted and which was reiterated by some deceitful or gullible voices?

Does steadfastness imply that all military installations, armament factories and command and control centres in Iraqi territory should be left exposed to bombardment and destruction without the slightest resistance and without a single fighter aircraft capable of protecting a position?

Does steadfastness imply that civilian locations should be used as military centres or that military hardware should be placed in schools, in hospitals, in civilian shelters, in the vicinity of places of worship and in hotels, which would therefore be subject to bombardment, and that one should subsequently bewail the civilian victims?

There is a big difference between steadfastness and suicide ... a very big difference between steadfastness and suicide.

Steadfastness means that a person fights, while still in possession of his weapons, with the least possible losses.

Suicide means sacrificing thousands of men to fight for a lost cause. This is a decision to be taken by a leader.

A courageous leader is one who is the most steadfast of all and who assiduously protects the safety of his army and his people.

It is insanity and a betrayal of the honourable and responsible position of leadership for a leader to order his forces to commit suicide, while he himself remains safely in his bunker, out of a crazy desire to be hailed as a steadfast leader in mass demonstrations.

Gullible and other persons who took part in noisy demonstrations, raised banners and shouted slogans in a number of Arab countries sought to mislead the public and exploit the situation in order to achieve internal party political objectives designed to arouse and mislead the masses.

They tried to convince the world that he was the hero who would liberate Jerusalem.

They tried to convince the world that he would vanquish colonialism and smash imperialism.

They tried to convince the world that he was the audacious leader who would annihilate Israel.

They even tried to convince the world, as he tried to convince himself, that he was the messenger of divine providence who would raise the banner of Islam, propagate justice and rescue the poor. Of this and other things they tried to convince the world.

And while they tried to convince the world and he tried to convince himself of these things, he knew better than anyone that all these falsehoods and lies sprang from the trumpets of his own propaganda, on which billions had been spent in order to mask the crime of the occupation of an Arab country, a friendly and weak neighbour which had long given generously to him. He reckoned with his sick imagination and his even sicker calculations that these demonstrations were his path to the leadership of which he dreamt and that, since he had become a leader, any Arab force which liberated Kuwait was an infidel, treacherous force and that any international force which, with the Arab forces, implemented the Security Council resolution to liberate Kuwait were forces that had crossed the oceans to bring down his leadership, to destroy his military force and to obliterate Iraq from the map of the world.

Such is the game played by some who are still living with the mentality of the 1940s and 1950s, which sold out the cause of the Palestinian people and deceived the Arab masses with spurious slogans on the part of Israel and assertions that they would cast Israel into the sea.

In the meantime, it was Egypt that was fighting and Egypt that was sacrificing thousands of the lives of its purest sons and Egypt that was losing billions in its wars for the Palestinian cause and for the security of the Arab world.

Where is the Jerusalem which he has liberated?

Where is the Israel which he has annihilated and demolished?

Where is the Islam which this tyrant transformed into killing, plunder, rape and barbarous forms of torture whereby women are killed in front of their fathers and sons, eyes are gouged out with red-hot skewers and heads are cleft open with axes?

Where is justice for the poor in the destruction and burning of oil wells and the poisoning of the seas?

Who has brought the American, British, French and other allied forces to our land?

Who has sent the Iraqi army to its destruction and collapse?

Did not the ruler of Iraq have the opportunity over a long period of six months to accept the Security Council resolutions and withdraw within the period laid down by the Security Council, after which there would have been no war, no destruction or devastation?

Would it not have been nobler and more honourable for him to withdraw, as all the world's leaders were begging him and advising him to do, using every means to convince him and bring him to reason, rather than to be forced finally into a humiliating and ignominious withdrawal, with his forces surrendering, his military equipment destroyed and his army suffering tens of thousands of casualties?

Did we not warn him 30 times in letters and appeals on behalf of every man, woman and child, with the greatest respect and desire to see him save face; did we not warn him of the dreadful and terrifying consequences and did we not say at that time that those consequences would be humiliating and ignominious?

Even after the ground war began, which he in his innermost (if not inane) calculations had reckoned would not happen for fear of his false and empty threats, did we halt our efforts to advise him to announce a withdrawal and accept the Security Council resolutions? That is what we did. I say clearly that, even a few hours before the battle began, the international efforts from all capitals were not halted.

The Soviet Union intervened, advising him, indeed warning him, to weigh matters carefully and to accept the international resolutions. But he tried to prevaricate and accused the Soviet leader Gorbachev of being subservient! (He too was subservient - everyone is under some form of subservience nowadays.) Moscow did not succeed, after 10 days of efforts, in obtaining the necessary decision from him. He set impossible conditions, one of which was that he should be rewarded for what he had done and that Iraq should not forfeit its right to annex Kuwait.

Did he not propose, inter alia, that the withdrawal should take place within 21 days?

Did he not finally withdraw within hours?

Ladies and gentlemen, I tried my utmost, with all sincerity and perseverance, together with our brothers, the leaders of the Arab nation and our friends, the leaders of the major Powers of both West and East, I tried, they tried, we all tried together first to avoid this war, which was imposed by international legality, and then to avoid pursuing it. Yet we have found in this tyrant nothing

but obstinacy, persistence, tortuous promises, deceitful undertakings and puerile manoeuvres which mock fate and destiny.

He says one thing and its opposite at the same time!

His promises carry within themselves confirmation of his clear intention not to carry them out.

And then there are vainglorious speeches, delivered in heroic tones, in which he deceives himself even more than he deceives the masses of the Arab nation with lies, delusions and distortions of the truth.

In the midst of all this, there is a sanguinary and evil insistence on the heedless sacrifice of thousands of innocent lives among the Iraqi army and the Iraqi people. There is an even more evil aberration in wanting to be surrounded by devastation and corpses, burning oil wells and a sea which is being poisoned. He destroyed Kuwait's facilities before withdrawing and plundered its coffers in the dark of night.

The future will soon reveal the hideous nature of these vile crimes, which are without historical precedent, even in the worst ages of oppression and tyranny; crimes committed and ordered by the ruler of Iraq.

In his first declarations, he was intent on laying down fanciful conditions, to which he added the guarantee that his rule should be safeguarded and that his life should not be endangered. He continued to equivocate with his conditions, hoping to gain time and prevent the continuation of the war, due to a change in the weather, which would give him an excuse not to withdraw. Then he became two-faced: one face announced that he would agree to withdraw, at the same time as the other face was destroying and burning the oil wells; one face was showing a desire for peace, while the other face was trying to avoid implementing the Security Council resolutions. It was therefore natural that the Soviet Union should declare its solidarity with the other countries of the coalition and the absolute necessity of unconditional withdrawal and compliance with all the Security Council resolutions, which the ruler of Iraq had lost four days in agreeing to one after the other!

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the People's Assembly and the Advisory Council,

The page has been turned and a new page has begun.

The days of darkness have passed and the dawn of a new day has broken.

The terrible tragedy has ended and Kuwait has been liberated. Our armed forces, in collaboration with the Arab and coalition forces, have played their heroic role in the battle for liberation. All the military leaders have praised the coalition. Through their military correspondents in the theatre of war, the greatest newspapers in the world have celebrated the valour of the Egyptian fighting man, his magnificent performance and the force of his onslaught. They

have also commended the fact that the Egyptian armed forces completed all their combat missions in a shorter time than that envisaged in the planning of military operations.

It was another illustrious role performed, and one to be added to the distinctions achieved by our armed forces in protecting Arab security. They fought with faith and conviction. They attacked with courage, manliness and daring. They achieved their objectives with military expertise and superior execution. Each fighting man was an honour to Egypt and conferred honour and distinction on every family in Egypt.

Egypt will not forget, the people of Kuwait will not forget and free people everywhere will not forget our righteous martyrs who gave their lives in the most honourable of battles. I should like us, ladies and gentlemen, to stand for two minutes in salute to the departed spirits of our martyrs and of all the martyrs of the victory achieved in the liberation of Kuwait.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The flag of Kuwait has been raised over the land of Kuwait. The flag of Egypt has been raised over the Embassy of Egypt in the free, independent and sovereign State of Kuwait.

It is no secret that we had no desire that the obduracy, self-delusion and arrogance of the ruler of Iraq should lead to hostilities with the army of Arab Iraq. It is he who made the decision, it is he who sought the conflict, and it is he who insisted and acted with intransigence and contempt. It is he who declared, in the closed meeting of the Arab Summit Conference held at Casablanca and in a meeting with the Arab Lawyers Union, that the Arabs would be entitled to mobilize their armies against the army of Iraq if it were to violate the sovereignty of an Arab State.

From this podium, ladies and gentlemen, I address each individual member of our armed forces in the theatre of war, and I say to them with full pride: glory belongs to those who achieve glory; and honour is due to those who have fought with honour for their people and for their Arab nation. The banners of Egypt are deserving of manly arms.

From this podium, I also address the fraternal people of Iraq, the army of Iraq and all those on whom this war was forcibly imposed in the land of Kuwait and the land of Iraq. I say to them: the people of Egypt is a brother to the people of Iraq. The decision of a single individual cannot destroy this brotherliness. The people of Egypt will not stint in contributing to the reconstruction of Iraq. The people of Iraq is an inseparable part of the Arab nation, and it must play its own political, cultural and social role in days to come.

I say to Baghdad's broadcasting services: we have had enough of the ignominy of mendacity, deception and deceit. Do not make of noble, Arab Iraq, which has a civilization and a history, an object of ridicule to the people of the world with reports of fables about imaginary battles in which every day you exterminate

thousands down to the last man! We have had enough of frustrating mockery, after you have done such things to Iraq, to the army of Iraq and to the people of Iraq as have filled the hearts of the Arab nation with sorrows that will not be effaced for decades to come and have done such things as relegate all of those responsible for this catastrophe to the darkest corner of our contemporary history. It saddens me, ladies and gentlemen, to have heard just recently one trying, with enviable boldness, to shed with honeyed words this grave responsibility, imagining to himself that history can be deceived by ignominious guises donned for every occasion without shame or embarrassment.

From this podium, I speak to the people of Kuwait in the land of Kuwait, a people that has borne the most heinous cruelties of a brutal occupation with forbearance and which has been subjected to the greatest crimes of repression, torture, plunder and looting. The most recent of these crimes have been the burning of the major hotels and the seizure of their stocks and the arrest of hundreds and their removal to Iraq, all in the last hours before the withdrawal. The forces of popular resistance, however, never hesitated in their defiance and opposition.

I also speak to those of the people of Kuwait in Egypt and in every Arab land. I say to all of them: warm congratulations on the liberation of your country, Kuwait, and it is a matter of pride and glory enough to you that there appeared among you none who broke faith and collaborated with usurpation, tyranny and aggression. Once again, I say to all of them: warm congratulations on the liberation of your country, and it is a matter of pride and glory enough to you that there appeared among you none who broke faith and collaborated with usurpation, tyranny and aggression.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the People's Assembly and of the Advisory Council,

We do not gloat at the distress of others; rather do we commiserate with them. We do not rejoice at a shocking defeat and at abiding destruction. Rather do we hope for a speedy recovery and a wakeful vigilance that will draw all eyes and minds towards the future. We are not proponents of settling for the bloody present and dwelling on pains and sorrows; our call is for a forward-looking outlook that will address the inter-Arab situation seriously and realistically and for the building of the new international order so that we may salvage what has been lost in terms of lives, infrastructure and progress.

It would be wise to profit from the lessons of this ordeal and from all the bitter consequences that it has brought with it for the Arab world at a time when we had come close to interlinkage, solidarity and integrated planning for the present and the future and then calamity struck. If the catastrophe has set us back into remote and gloomy depths, the primary responsibility of the Arab leaders and of the Arab peoples is that they should, through remedial action, correct this grave situation. Then, all may lend a helping hand and work together to agree on a basis from which to set out towards a better future and a new life in which wounds are healed, mutual recriminations cease and new and rejuvenated blood is infused after the enormous bloodshed that has afflicted the Arab nation in battle.

The cruel experience that confronts us all in the entire Arab world is a moral lesson. The future will be harsher and more bitter if Arab forces, governmental or popular, proceed in the self same manner with regard to conflicts. Such conflicts may be compounded if we abandon our destiny to the rule of whims and exaggerations, factions may multiply, the trade in slogans and incantation may flourish, and policies for the deception of peoples may continue under clashing banners. The most pertinent example to that effect is the statement made only recently, as I have told you, in lofty contempt for the consciousness of the masses and their honour, by an Arab leader.

A moment for soul-searching, O nation of the Arabs ...

A moment for soul-searching, O nation of the Arabs ...

A moment for deep study, penetrating to the depths, speaking truly and frankly and proceeding in purity of word and deed.

We do not intend to settle accounts or to exacerbate differences. The doors must be closed on all those who wish to augment the catastrophe: what we have undergone is already enough.

We are confronted with fundamental, topical and urgent issues. While the ruler of Iraq forced us to bring in foreign forces to help us defend the sovereignty of another Arab State, we should be aware that the vast expanses of the Arab nation have the political, economic and social capacities and resources to enable us alone to establish the new basis for progress towards a better future.

We must not squander these vast resources. It is already enough that we should have been afflicted by the greatest and most dangerous wastage of our material and spiritual resources ever to have been seen in the history of the Arab nation.

We do not seek a division between East and West. We do not look for a continuation of campaigns of resentment, deceptive allegations, slogans which take cheap advantage of events or the machinations of poisonous intrigues and multiple hypocrisies.

We have no wish to see the Arab nation divided into two. We have no wish to see the Arab nation divided into two, and we do not want the single Arab people to be scattered as separate peoples and deceived by wicked objectives which drive them to internecine strife within a single country. It is neither the undercurrents nor the currents on the surface which dominate the consciousness of peoples, their true path, their just and legitimate right to a future of peace, safety, co-operation, solidarity and unity - with all honour and probity - in support of their principles.

The Arab world is confronted with crucial issues. Agreement must be reached on ways to address them in order to ensure that the correct path is followed.

We have before us the question of the Palestinian people. It is a question of a people and not a question of leaderships, exaggerations, intrigues and conspiracies. I repeat: it is a question of a people and not a question of leaderships, not a question of exaggerations, intrigues or conspiracies.

The Palestinian people has the paramount right to self-determination after all these years of suffering, of the folly of slogans and of conflict between leaderships, the result being dissipation of the major issue and its conversion into a question of differences between individuals and the exchange of accusations.

No one will deny that the solution of the question of Palestine is the prime key to a just and lasting peace in the Arab region.

We do not treat this question as a commercial proposition. Sufficient offence has been dealt to our Arab history by this absurd and misleading assertion that the occupation of Kuwait represented the path to Jerusalem.

We must tear up all these rotten pages. We must tear them up in order to begin a clean and serious page which restores the freshness and integrity of this just and topical question, in order that banners of peace may be raised with faithful hearts, with open minds, with desires to attain solutions and without discourses of intrigue.

The Palestinian people represents a trust which is borne by all of us, and we shall not betray that trust. We have before us the question of the Golan and the question of the single united Arab people of Lebanon. All these questions are interrelated. The time has come for us to proceed, by solving them rapidly and decisively, towards stability and peace.

We have before us the question of Arab security.

This is an extremely important question. It warrants priority treatment following the exposure of the existence and destiny of the Arab nation to the most serious threat as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and all the distresses and horrors which that has entailed.

Arab security shall be Arab and Arab alone, ensuring full immunity and protection for this region of the world.

We have before us the questions of economic and social development and the integration required for planned comprehensive development such as will ensure social justice and draw upon the enormous Arab capacities in terms of resources, manpower and scientific evolution. In so doing, we shall construct a solid, strong, proud and upstanding Arab nation, which will have its eminent place in interaction with the new international order based on peace, technological and economic competition and consolidation of political democracy.

We have before us the questions of disputed boundaries with their long-standing conflicts.

We have before us the question of cooperation with the people of Iraq, which shall not be separated from the Arab nation. The people of Iraq is the master of its own fate and has the paramount right to determine its future. It is that people which is now experiencing the bloody tragedy brought upon it by the tyranny of falsehood over that which is right and the ambitions of one individual at the expense of the freedom of millions.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the People's Assembly and the Advisory Council,

All these crucial and weighty issues require from us innovative thinking which relates to reality from a premise of strength and solidarity, as well as statements of fact from hearts which are free of caprice and arbitrary views.

My call is not one for Arab reconciliation by means of the declarations, statements and slogans which we have learned by heart. How easily those words flow in our political dictionary and in our Arab region.

My call is one for Arab candour, pledged to sincerity and to a deep conviction that the downfalls and collapses by which we have been beset can lead us only to a yet more severe and bitter fate, unless we all face up to the full dangers of the situation.

Candour which is constructive and not destructive.

Candour which brings protection and not disunity.

It is my belief that Egypt was the first to display such candour at the Arab Summit Conference held in Casablanca - the first summit meeting which it attended following the reconciliation between Egypt and the League of Arab States.

As you may remember, I raised some specific points at that Conference which I considered appropriate in order to enrich united progress as one nation. I wish to add the following points in the wake of the bloody events which began with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait:

1. We must neither lose any time nor waste any effort in giving thought to reprisals, revenge or the settling of accounts. We must turn this sad page in our history and direct our hearts and eyes towards the future, with all the hope and aspiration which it bears for our peoples.

2. We must exert our utmost efforts to restore faith in the domain of the Arab family at the earliest opportunity, in order that doubts should not grow deeper and divisions spread in our ranks. No nation is capable of any joint action if doubt and suspicion hold sway over the minds of its members.

3. The events of the calamitous invasion and its aftermath make it necessary that every one of us should state his vision of objectives for both his nation and his country, as well as the means which he believes should be used in order to attain those objectives. In this way, each Arab country will have knowledge in advance of what the other countries intend to strive to implement and achieve.

4. We must also redouble our efforts in the months and years to come to settle the outstanding differences between all Arab countries, first and foremost among these being differences over boundaries, even if this means that new machinery must be invented in order to enhance our ability to overcome the difficulties and problems which cast gloom on Arab relations.

5. We must hasten to complete our concept of the situation in the region after the war, concentrating on two essential points - namely, security and development - which are complementary, interrelated and interdependent elements. They cannot be separated, nor can one be considered in isolation from the other. In order for this to come about, there must be collective thought and continuous consultation, because the future of all of us depends on our success in formulating a joint and integrated vision.

6. Events have proved how right we were to have urged, for more than two years, that the Middle East region - meaning the region as a whole, including Israel - should be kept free of weapons of mass destruction. When we urged that, the ruler of Iraq and the Iraqi leadership objected to making it free of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. We should also consider other means of preventing the accumulation of weapons in the region and the race to acquire and make use of them.

7. If we are to bring about security and stability in the region, we must all devote our utmost efforts to settling the Arab-Israeli conflict, and particularly its Palestinian element, because this conflict is the principal source of anxiety and tension in the region and plunges it into a vicious circle of violence and counter-violence.

8. In order to consolidate comprehensive reconstruction in the phase to come, we must endeavour to extend opportunities for cooperation to every Arab citizen in public work and to strengthen the march of democracy in the manner which each Arab country determines in accordance with its circumstances and experiences.

9. We must become conscious of the falsehood of words spoken in the miasma of events over a period of seven sad months, which attempted to portray what happened as a battle between East and West, between Muslims and non-Muslims or as a return to the Crusades. All this was bogus, a sham. The battle was between legitimacy and anarchy, between right and wrong, between that which is lawful and that which is unlawful. We praise God that Arab legitimacy matched international legitimacy and that the victory - in the end - lay with the forces of right and good and not with the forces of aggression and injustice.

This, then, is my pan-Arab appeal, on your behalf and on behalf of the people of Egypt, which I direct to the Arab people at this decisive and crucial time when, if we are properly heedful, we may proceed to advance and to march upward and onward.

The downfalls of dispersal could sweep us away, and the exaggerations of slogans could lead us to a yet more wretched fate, a fate which we must not accept.

History will not forgive us ... nor will any generation forgive us ... nor will the blood of a free and noble life course once again through our Arab nation ... if we remain aloof and if we continue to chase our own tails in vicious circles which never end or fall still.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I know that you are expecting some words from me about our economic situation. We have been dealt major blows by the disaster of the invasion, over and above the crushing difficulties from which we already suffered, which have their obvious negative effects on our daily life. I know that you are waiting for me to speak on this subject, which is a matter of concern for every family in Egypt.

I shall say only this, on this vitally significant matter: our brothers in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and the other Gulf States fully understand the realities of our economic situation and believe - with the best of possible intentions - that an Egypt with a strong foundation and economy means an Egypt committed to the principle and honour of its position and an Egypt which never abandons its pioneering role, whatever hardships that may entail. Important messages have been exchanged in this regard, and I hope that their effects will become apparent in the near future. In addition, steps were taken from the outset of the events of the invasion.

Egypt will play its constructive role in measures to rebuild Kuwait, and our brothers will welcome Egyptian workers in all matters relating to development. These workers will be treated with all due consideration and reverence: agreements to this effect ensure that the rights of every entitled person will be respected.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am fully confident of my vision of the immediate and distant future. Our path stretches out, blazing and aglow, to horizons radiant with development and peace. This confidence is not unfounded.

It stems from the inspiration of the great and noble people of Egypt ... the great and noble people of Egypt which has stood as one man and whose heart has beat as one since the crime of the invasion began and which showed - as a matter of spontaneous civilized awareness - that the people knows how to make the right decision at the right time ...

The great and noble people of Egypt, which with all its vigour and strength brushed aside tendentious and arbitrary assertions that endeavoured to falsify the facts before its eyes, to distort the image in its mind or to stir up its feelings with superficial provocations and misleading appeals ...

The great and noble people of Egypt, which, massed in its millions, formed a mighty shield that swept aside spurious assertions and rose up in pride and glory above the provocations of those consumed by convulsions and the lies of those who deliberately incite trouble ...

The great and noble people of Egypt, which with historic heedfulness, refused to be an instrument of deception, a victim of events or a trumpet for the voices of untruth and slander ...

The great and noble people of Egypt, which scoffed at those who wished to belittle its intelligence and awareness and prevailed over those who thought they could deceive it ...

The great and noble people of Egypt, which raised the banner of great anl noble Egypt and before which all the slogans of untruth and deception and all the propaganda of terror and intimidation bowed down in submission and exhaustion ...

The great and noble people of Egypt ... the people of principle, glory and honour which stood by its armed forces in the battle for Arab dignity as a solid and united front under a single flag, the flag of Egypt.

Egypt ... peace which does not betray. Egypt ... the shield which protects and preserves. Egypt ... which may not be sold or bought at any time.

Egypt ... which has suffered and continues to suffer but does not neglect its dignity or indulge in trading of its position and words.

Egypt, in looking forward to a new Arab world, believes that time is golden if we base our endeavours on candour and sincerity; gold, however, turns to dust if we fall behind the march of growth and development or if we turn our backs on a society bound by ties of veracity, loyalty and the rule of humans who respect human rights.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are marching and advancing in the procession of honour ... In constructing the present for the sake of the future, we represent an unshakeable example, an inextinguishable flame and an unbending determination.

O Lord, deepen our faith and grant us, by Your good grace, strength, charity and reason.

"God singles out for His mercy whom He will; God is of bounty abounding."

"God is powerful over everything."

May God grant success to us and to you.

Peace be upon you and the mercy of God.

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